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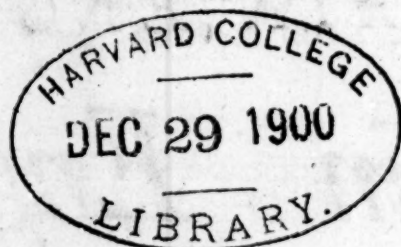
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Plain English;

A Letter to the KING.

S I R,

THE measures pursued by the ministry, since Your Majesty's accession, have been virulently aspersed by some, and defended (perhaps with as little candour) by others. As for me, I am not of the opinion (or pretended opinion) either of those who call you *the best of princes*, or of those who speak the most disrespectfully of you. I think you very little better or worse than the common run of kings; and, tho' I entirely disapprove of several acts of parliament in which you have concurred, I blame you less for any thing you have actually done, than for what you have neglected to do. This blame, however, does not fall upon Your Majesty in particular, but extends to all kings, dead or living, as

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well

well as to the rulers in all oligarchies and democracies. Sovereigns have not been so wicked as worthless; not so malicious as indolent, and careless whether their subjects were happy or unhappy. -We find in many authors high encomiums upon this or that prince, as an almost compleat pattern of wisdom and virtue. But these writers are more studious to entertain the reader with interesting characters than to represent the truth. The real fact (I much fear) is, that there has never yet been, otherwise than comparatively, a good and wise king; or, in whatsoever country, any thing that deserved the name of *government*. For, notwithstanding the fertility of the earth and the invention of arts, (which, jointly, might be made to supply us with more than all we want) in what kingdom, and in what age, can we suppose the greatest part of the inhabitants not to have lived dirty and necessitous, and that their life was not misery?

There is in *Swift* a certain observation, which does not fall in with the general sense of mankind; but which, nevertheless, appears to *me* a very just one; viz. That the government
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of a kingdom requires no great abilities. This, or something to this purport, he says; and I entirely acquiesce with him, tho' the contrary opinion be almost universal.

My sentiments hereupon will, perhaps, in due time appear well grounded: for I shall take the liberty to address a few letters to Your Majesty, wherein, if you will be at the pains of reading them, you will find, occasionally mentioned, certain regulations, easy to make, and which, if made, would conduce much more to the happiness of a people, than the success of ever so great a number of such schemes as even those, who have been called *good* ministers, have hitherto pursued.— When I say that these regulations are easy to make, I mean that they require nothing of what is commonly called *policy*. But there must be activity, and a concern for the well-being of the subject; or, in lieu of this concern, a persuasion that what contributes to the prosperity and ease of the common people, no way lessens the opulence and indulgences of the great; but, on the contrary, heightens and augments them: and that
this

this is really the case may, in my apprehension, be easily demonstrated.

How many of these letters I may address to Your Majesty, I am myself ignorant. They probably will be very few. It has been always my maxim that good sense is comprised in small, in *very* small compass; unless where the writer or speaker spends his time in answering objections made, or that he supposes *will be* made. I never heard the celebrated Lord Chatham; but have been assured by some, who had frequent opportunities of hearing him in the zenith of his reputation for eloquence, that all the matter contained in a speech of two hours of this deified orator, might often have been delivered in ten minutes, without being too closely compressed. And yet, (such is the force of prejudice!) the house, while he was making these diffused harangues, would be incessantly ringing with *hear him, hear him*; in the mention of which, I arraign less *his* judgment than the judgment and taste of *his auditors*; he well knowing, without doubt, that the gross of mankind determine of the merit of an harangue rather by its length

length than by the cogency of it's arguments, and often dream that they are convinced by a frothy speech of two or three hours, where a short one even of the strongest reasoning would have had little or no effect upon them.

In these letters to Your Majesty I shall be free; sometimes, perhaps, blunt; but never rancorous; at least, not in any place that points at Your Majesty: and the freedom or bluntness, that I shall use, will not be in consequence of an unmannerly disposition, but will be the natural effect of that concern for the general happiness, which prompts me to publish my thoughts. *Steele*, as I recollect, mentions in one of his *Spectators*, or *Guardians*, a certain preacher, who, having occasion to speak of *Hell* before a congregation of quality, called it *a place not to be named to so polite an audience*. This the writer applauds, and terms *elegant*. But his judgment is entirely wrong. The expression is highly absurd, as being affected and unnatural; for the idea of a hell, as painted to us in the Scriptures, is so infinitely terrifying, that it admits no thought of compliment, but sweeps away at once

once all distinctions, and levels the prince with the beggar.

Writing purely from the dictates of my heart, I shall use a plain stile, and consequently not take a Junius for my model. The admired rhetoric of this man has ever appeared to *me* contemptible, and his understanding shallow. Those of his letters which I have read, (for I have not thought it worth my while to give them *all* a reading) have contained only a stiff, laboured, and vilely disingenuous invective, without any useful hints.

Neither, whatever objections I may have to a part of Your Majesty's conduct, am I at all inclined to lift myself under the banners of the people either at *Guildhall* or at the *London Tavern*. A modern patriot is a compound of the fool, the coxcomb, and the mischief-making villain. 'Tis the *reputation* only of patriotism, and the applauses of a brainless public, that he aims at. The *real* happiness of this public is an object never in his thoughts.—Our patriots take, accordingly, the shortest way to this reputation. It is an easy matter
to

to pronounce emphatically *freeborn Englishmen—violated rights—will lose the last drop of my blood in defence of your liberties—* with other senseless cant. This may be done in the midst of the most luxurious indulgence, and requires no self-denial. But let us look into the *private characters* of these boasters of publick virtue, and we shall find many of them as arrant rascals as ever incurred the most infamous punishment (what was he better, for one instance, in memory and honour of whom a statue has been erected? a wretch, who, notwithstanding his great riches, was so far from being inclined to relieve the distressed, that he could seldom, without difficulty, be brought to pay a just debt) and, among the rest, scarcely one to be commended for more than a merely negative honesty; a principle, which implies no more than a desire to live undisturbed. It is not, perhaps, easy to conceive a character more contemptible than the creature, who has of late years caused so great a disturbance in the nation. For the pitifulness of his intellects, I appeal to the inanity of his speeches: for, in short, they are *words*, and nothing more: they contain no *matter*. Nor could
any

any man of sense ever discover, in his whole conduct, even the least appearance of that ardour for the happiness of the nation, which the idiot-public has all along supposed to be the motive to his actions; or, indeed, any thing but a surfeiting vanity, and a childish desire of being uppermost in every one's thoughts. * I say

* The boasted patriotism, and the boasted and lamented sufferings of the idol of the ignorant part of the nation, naturally put one in mind of the zeal for the church, and the sufferings of *Jack Brunt*, as related by the *independent whig*.

" *Jack's* whole life " says the writer, was religiously
 " spent in getting drunk for *the church*, and robbing
 " of hen-roosts and gardens. In short, he was the
 " best church-man, and the greatest thief, in all the
 " neighbourhood; and in high esteem with every one
 " that honoured the cause of drunkenness and ortho-
 " doxy. But, for all this merit, as *Jack* was carrying
 " off half a dozen cabbages from *Farmer Shepherd's*
 " garden, he was unluckily apprehended, and carried
 " before a justice. Being upon his examination, and
 " nigh his commitment, the parson of the parish, who
 " had heard of his tribulation, came to intercede for so
 " worthy a fellow-labourer in the cause of tippling and
 " conformity. The doctor affirmed that, though *Jack*
 " was addicted to roguery, he was honest.—*How, sir!*
 " *an honest thief!* replied the squire.—*I mean he is for*
 " *the church*, answered the parson.—*The church, man!*
 " says his worship: *and what then?*—*But consider, sir,*
 " said the doctor again, *the prosecutor is a notorious dis-*
 " *senter*.—And what if he be? quoth the justice: *have*
 " *not presbyterians a toleration to eat their own cabbages?*
 Away,

say *the idiot-public* : for, in fact, the public *is*, in the judgment it forms of any remarkable event or person, an *idiot*. It ever *was*, and it is to be feared it ever *will be* such. By *the public*, I mean the far greater number of individuals, among the different classes of mankind ; *both the great vulgar and the small*, as one of our poets has it ; as well (not to speak of their superiors) the far greater number of the rich citizens of London, who have, within these few years, given so many instances of their stupidity, as the far greater of the ragged inhabitants of the narrowest and dirtiest alleys. This wise public, too, violently espoused the cause of Elizabeth Canning, and firmly believed her ridiculous story ; a string

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of

“ *Away, good doctor. I love the church very well ; and*
 “ *yet I’ll have this fellow jail’d and whipp’d.* Jack was
 “ accordingly committed ; and, all the while he peeped
 “ through the grate, he modestly acquainted every
 “ one, who came to see him, that his sufferings were
 “ all for *the church*. And in this the parson joined
 “ with him, and collected money all round the parish,
 “ for Jack, by the name of an *honest churchman*, who
 “ *was persecuted by a fanatic.*

Now we may safely say, that *Jack in the lumbering coach* has suffered just as much in the cause of true patriotism as *Jack Brunt* suffered for *the church*.

of the most enormous improbabilities; and, indeed, is ever-and-anon shewing itself equal in judgment to the very brutes.

But, how little worthy soever of regard the people may be, who have made for many years, and are still making, such out-cries about their *violated rights--corrupt septennial parliaments*—and *a wicked administration*—their ignorance and malice will by no means excuse Your Majesty, should you, upon a scrutiny of your actions, be found to have been really deficient in your duty. And here I beg Your Majesty to reflect that you have been now near fifteen years upon the throne, and then to ask yourself what you have done in all this time, to make the inhabitants of your dominions more happy than you found them. Will it be enough to say *I have not rendered their condition worse than it was: I have done nothing unlawful?* Your Majesty knows what was the sentence of the unprofitable servant, who restored to his master the talent he had received from him: and, were I to see a king entertaining himself with his children, and passing a considerable part of his time in playing upon

a musical instrument, or in looking at pictures, prints and drawings, I should at the same time imagine I saw a hand writing upon the wall, *you have been weighed in the balance and have been found wanting*: to which, perhaps, a grave divine would add, *innocence—meer innocence—in those who have it in their power to do good, is guilt in proportion to that power*, and thereupon quote the parable to which I have alluded.

This only by way of prelude. I shall, in the future letters I address to Your Majesty, mention (as I have hinted above) certain regulations easy to make, which, with all their simplicity, would (I doubt not) be productive of much more happiness than what is commonly called *a refined policy* has ever been, or is capable of being.

I shall conclude the present letter with an observation or two in regard to the Americans; reflections so naturally occurring, that persons of plain sense will always wonder how a minister could take it into his head to propose measures in contradiction to them, and a parliament adopt such measures.

It were the height of absurdity to suppose that so immense a country as the British America would for ever continue in subjection to such a spot as England, even were our treatment of its inhabitants ever so generous and disinterested. These Americans will one day form a vast independent empire, or empires; and, the more unrelentingly and violently they are now pursued, the sooner will that be. They are already too powerful for us to manage them as we please; and we must ~~shortly~~^{henceforth} be connected with them upon their own terms, or not at all. 'Tis a jest to talk here of precedent, or of the laws of nations, or even of what the laws of morality would seem to justify us in expecting from these people, in return for the obligations we pretend they have to us. Let us look into human nature——into the temper of mankind,—That is the book we ought to consult, in regulating our conduct with respect to these Americans. Let us suppose *ourselves* in *their* situation. What would our sentiments be? The very same with *theirs* now. The love of liberty is a principle implanted in all animals; a principle ~~inextinguishable~~^{inextinguishable}. Nations and individuals, and even the lowest of the brute creation

creation, are herein alike. What should we think of a man, who, having educated his son with what he himself is pleased to call *tenderness* and *indulgence*, looks upon the son, now grown to man's estate, as a being devoted to his interest, and under a moral obligation to provide for himself no otherwise than as he shall direct? Should we not call this father *an old coxcomb and fool*? Undoubtedly we should. Now, we ourselves, in our treatment of the North-American Colonies, are this old coxcomb and fool. 'Tis in vain to quote the Spaniards as a precedent. *Their* foreign subjects, natives of hot climates, people timorous and unwarlike, may be kept in awe by a handful of Europeans. But the inhabitants of North-America are a hardy people, a people of much the same constitution with ourselves, and will no more brook an everlasting subjection to England, than we should brook the like subjection to the foreign descendents of our ancestors, had *they* continued a separate people, and formed *us*, as we have formed the *North-Americans*.

What then is to be done? will it be said. *Are we*
tame

tamely to suffer them to renounce the supremacy of England? Were they determined to renounce it, we could not prevent their throwing it off. But it is plain they have no inclination to renounce it, so long as they can experience from us what they deem a reasonable treatment. Are we then (will it be replied) to be dictated to by our own colonies? things that owe their being to us? and shall they determine what treatment of them is reasonable, and what not? Why, yes: they will determine: we see they do: and the man, who, numerous, unanimous and resolute, and at so great a distance as they are, and inhabiting a vast country, where their armies can make what removes they please, and will be always plentifully supplied with whatever they want, and where ours, when advancing any considerable way in-land, will be ever harrassed and distressed, supposes that it is in our power to bring them to what terms we list, and to keep them in subjection by force, must be either ridiculously prejudiced or an oaf.

It would be matter of curiosity to read the compulsory plan, if any such there be, that Your Majesty's ministers have drawn, for the bringing these Americans to reason. A very
wild

wild one it certainly must be. These ministers (God help them!) have in all probability heard somebody say, or have read it in some book, that no measures are to be used with rebel-subjects, which may flatter them with an idea of their being feared, and that every concession does but heighten their insolence. In this spirit the proclamation said to be issued by General Gage is penned; a proclamation, which the Americans will hold in great derision. They know too well their own strength to be frightened with big words.

If these ministers are so very full of the maxim of not treating with what they are pleased to call *rebels*, and insist upon an unconditional submission, let them cast their eyes to Holland, and reflect how that state was formed. This will balance many of the instances they would be able to quote. And yet, considering the riches of Philip the 2d, his numerous subjects, the discipline of his troops, the capacity of his generals, the small number of the low-country male-contents, compared to that of our Americans, their poverty, their nearness to Spain, and their contiguity to Flanders, the mother-country of many of them, where he had an established

established and a powerful government, how infinitely less probability was there of *their* resisting *him*, than there is of the *Americans* resisting *us*!

I am far from thinking Your Majesty's ministers so wicked as they are commonly said to be. As to *principle*, they appear to *me* much upon a level with the ministers of late reigns. But I look upon them as weak—*miserably* weak and bungling politicians. There needs no other proof of their being such, than their present conduct in respect to *America*. I believe we may defy Lucifer himself to tell us what their plan is: for they seem to have formed no regular plan at all; but merely to be possessed with a notion—a *confused* notion—of its being improper to recede, or in any degree to humour *rebels*, and, in consequence of this confused notion, to be determined to go on, even though they should have no ground to expect a happy issue of any one particular step they may take. In short, they are acting like drivelers and madmen; and, if Your Majesty suffer them to proceed, will,

“Like the base Indian, throw away a pearl

“Inestimable.”

But, though the *reasonableness* of the resistance made by these Americans be here, as has been already hinted, out of the question, and it would be prudent in us, considering the advantages we reap from an intercourse with them, to humour those whom we cannot subdue, it may not be amiss to consider whether this resistance be *really* so very unreasonable, and so insolent a defiance of legal authority, as is by some pretended.

The pamphlet of *Taxation no Tyranny* seems to contain all that can be said in condemnation of this resistance. This composition, notwithstanding many weak parts, is artful; and we may venture to suppose the author has been well rewarded. His pension is said to have been raised from three to five hundred a year for a former production in justification of ministerial conduct. I make no doubt the present performance has been worth him, at the least, another two-hundred: and, if our administration continue to pursue unpopular measures, it is not improbable that, ere long, we shall see the philosophical doctor lolling in his carriage-and-four, with an income equal to the revenue of a good bishopric.

The quintessence of the doctor's reasoning is comprised, as I apprehend, in the following lines.

“ In every state there is somewhere lodged
 “ an absolute power. From the decrees of
 “ the member, or members, in whom such
 “ power is lodged, there can be no appeal.
 “ For to whom can the appeal be made?—
 “ With *us*, this power resides in the sovereign
 “ and the parliament jointly. Our sovereign
 “ and his parliament have lately enacted cer-
 “ tain laws respecting their North-American
 “ subjects; which laws, however repugnant in
 “ all appearance to their interest, these North-
 “ Americans ought, in consideration of the
 “ power from whence they issue, to receive
 “ implicitly. The supreme power can never
 “ be lawfully resisted. To resist it is *rebellion*,
 “ *an act which makes it questionable what shall*
 “ *be thenceforward the supreme * power*; and
 “ which tends, by necessary consequence, to
 “ anarchy and confusion.”

To

* Taxation no Tyranny.

To defer for a moment what may be said in behalf of the Americans in particular, I shall consider this argument in the abstract: and I reason thus.

Happiness (or pleasure) is the only thing desirable. Unhappiness (or *pain*) the only thing to be avoided. Whatever is in its infinite consequences productive of more happiness than unhappiness is good. Whatever is in its infinite consequences productive of more unhappiness than happiness is bad. Government is a good thing for no other reason than that it is attended with more happiness than is anarchy. If therefore a government be so framed, or so conducted, that the destruction of it would be attended with more happiness than its continuance, it will be right to destroy it. If it be so conducted that the resisting it in certain instances would be attended with more happiness than a total acquiescence, it will be right to resist it in those instances.— And certainly either of these cases is possible. If it be objected that the idea of any person, or persons, authorized to resist the supreme and absolute power, implies an inconsistency,

since in that case this power would be no longer supreme and absolute, and that consequently no one has a right to resist it, (still less to endeavour the destruction of the government,) I reply that an insupportable knot, which cannot be untied, must be cut. It suffices that the two cases, I have mentioned, are possible: and, though no person *can be*, in the nature of things, formally authorized to determine when either of them exists, and when not, yet, as the mind will necessarily be reasoning, whether we will or no, he, who believes that the destruction of a government would be attended with more happiness than its continuance, and, in consequence of such belief, endeavours the destruction of it, acts upon a right principle; as he does likewise, who, for the same end [the general happiness] resists it in particular points. On the other hand, he, who believes that the perpetuity of this government, and an entire obedience to it, would be attended with more happiness than its dissolution, or than an opposition to it on any occasion, and therefore acts in favour of this perpetuity, or this entire obedience, is equally commendable with the other two.

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There are many so enthusiastically fond of order, and so abhorrent of confusion, they would tell me I am mistaken, in supposing it possible for the destruction of a government to be attended with an increase of happiness, or a diminution of misery; that anarchy is more insupportable than the severest tyranny; and that he therefore, who endeavours the subversion of a state, is engaged in a bad cause, how laudable soever may be his intentions.

Though we should admit that anarchy, taking the word in its worst sense, as signifying that confused state, where no particular is under protection, and every one is consequently exposed to injuries, is more insupportable than the severest tyranny, it would not follow from thence that he, who endeavours the subversion of a government, is necessarily engaged in a bad cause. This anarchy can never be of long continuance in a civilized nation, and a government of some form or another will, ere long, take place.

Were the maxims of non-resistance to him,

or

or them, in whom resides the absolute power, and of the unjustifiableness of putting an end to a government, every where received, what could be expected but universal slavery? Considering the strong propensity in mankind to tyrannize, this, almost infallibly, would be the consequence.

To come now, with Your Majesty's leave, to the case of the North-Americans in particular.

The author of *Taxation no Tyranny* has; in ridicule of their congress, and of their address to the people of England, invented a manifesto of the inhabitants of the county of Cornwall, whom he supposes to have taken it into their heads to erect themselves into an independent state, and to be henceforward no otherwise connected with all the rest of the kingdom, or subject to the king or parliament, than as they themselves shall think proper.

This manifesto, it must be confessed, is entertaining. It is lively, and very humorous.

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Its only fault is that it is nothing to the purpose. The author, however, if we may credit him, though he owns that every one would conclude such a memorial to be written either in jest or by a madman, does not think it at all more preposterous than the address of the congress.

Should the administration alter its measures with respect to America, and condescend to render reasons to the public for its so doing, a command to this author to see things in another light would, possibly, soon discover to him a great difference in point of propriety (for such there certainly is) between these two addresses.

The propriety or absurdity of a manifesto, declaring a resolution to execute a certain scheme, depends respectively upon the power or inability to execute it, and upon the prudence or imprudence of doing it, could it certainly be done. The discretion or indiscretion of making the design public may be likewise included.

(I here suppose this declared resolution not to be feigned for politic ends, but to be the real intention of the person, or persons, from whom the manifesto is issued)

Who, now, will assert that the North-Americans and the people of Cornwall are, as to either power or interests, in similar circumstances with respect to this government? Is not the difference so great that a conduct, which would be rational in one, might be meer madness in the others? How were it possible for the Cornishmen to succeed in the attempt, should they take the strange resolution of separating themselves from the rest of *England*? The comparative smallness of their numbers considered, no one not a lunatic could suppose the thing practicable.

But, even granting them potent enough to withstand all the rest of the island, and likewise the foreign forces that might be introduced, to what end should they desire such a separation? Their wishing it would not imply a less degree of lunacy, than would their now conceiving themselves in a capacity to effect it. There being no physical circumstance in the spot

spot they inhabit, that renders their union with all England any way inconvenient to them; and they not being, nor having any reason to apprehend they ever *shall be*, distinguished by the legislature to their prejudice, the separation could answer no good purpose. The *certain* consequence would be a greater difficulty, (and attended with greater expence) than they now find in procuring such of the conveniences or ornaments of life as are not produced among them; and the *probable* consequence a frequent jarring—sometimes a *war*—with England, and perhaps now-and-then a descent from some foreign nation.

Let us see now how it stands with the North-Americans.

As to their *ability* to resist us, I can urge no more than what I have already said. Their numbers, their unanimity and their resolution are such, that, considering likewise their being no way inferior to the English in military courage, and little, if at all, inferior to them in military *skill*, together with their distance from England, and their inhabiting a vast country,

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where

where their armies can make what removes they please, and will be always plentifully supplied with whatever they want, and where ours, when advancing any considerable way in-land, will be ever harraſſed and diſtreſſed, to ſuppoſe that we ſhall ſubdue them, and be able to keep them in ſubjection, ſeems to imply either a total want of underſtanding or a degree of madneſs: and, if the generals Burgoyne and Gage do *really* endeavour to give Your Maſteſty hopes of any thing like it, it would certainly be moſt conſiſtent with Your Maſteſty's humanity to order theſe two unhappy men home, and to recommend them to the phyſician of Bedlam. As to the filly addreſſers from Manchester, Lancaſter and Birmingham, they would do well to confine themſelves to their looms and their forges. The nation will be finely governed, when the miniſtry is directed by weavers and blackſmiths! To adviſe the ſending a fleet to conquer China, or Japan, would not be more abſurd than the advice they have given. It is an eaſy matter for the mice to talk of faſtening a bell to the cat's neck. How will they put it in execution?

“ But

“ But, however *able* these Americans may “ be to resist us,” will it be said by those who disapprove their conduct, “ they have at least “ no *right* to resist. They are subjects of the “ English government, and, as such, ought “ to submit to the English legislature.” To suppose *dominion without authority, and subjects without subordination*, appears to the author of the above-mentioned pamphlet an egregious absurdity.

Now to *me* there seems to be something equivocal, or indefinite, in the word *subject*: and it is, as I apprehend, in a great measure, from the not making allowance for this latitude of sense, that the conduct of the Americans appears to many so highly criminal.— To use the word *subjects*, in speaking of them, is, for want of another word precisely expressing their situation, very allowable. But who will pretend to say that their relation to the English government is exactly the same with our own? Physically circumstanced as they are, it *cannot* be the same; though, from the barrenness of language, they are comprehended with us under the general denomination of *Subjects*.

They are the descendants of persons, to whom certain of our kings have granted charters to settle in the respective countries they inhabit; by which charters those persons were authorized to constitute corporations vested with such and such powers. The inference of those among us, who call them *rebels*, is that, existing as political bodies merely by virtue of those charters, by a disobedience to the legislature not only the charters are forfeited, but the delinquents are still farther punishable.

This reasoning will do very well for a superficial-sensed lawyer: but I believe people of understanding, and who have any tincture of generosity, will consider the matter in another light.

He must be very ignorant of the temper of mankind, who can suppose that, when a prince grants a permission to his subjects to form a colony in a distant country, he does it from a concern for the happiness of the emigrants. The chief motive is the aggrandizement of the mother-country, by her turning to her own profit

fit the labours of these people and their descendants. — The easing the mother-country of many hands, that he conceives to be useless and burthenfome, may likewise have some weight. A proof how little part a concern for the happiness of these people has in this dismissal is the little uneasiness he feels at the misery of those at home. And let it not be said that I contradict myself, in supposing a prince desirous of aggrandizing his kingdom, and regardless, at the same-time, of the happiness of his home-subjects. Power being merely relative, a kingdom is powerful only as compared with other kingdoms; and, a prince being but an individual, and unable to effect any thing alone, he is potent no otherwise than as his kingdom is potent. An ambitious prince may therefore ardently wish to make his people collectively powerful, without being in the least concerned for their happiness. Where is there now a country so powerful as was France in some parts of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth? and where is there greater distress than it is well known there was among his subjects? of which distress, or of the causes of it, he could not be ignorant,

ignorant. But does he appear to have studied the removal of this distress? By no means. It is true he encouraged the fine arts. But this he did from the same childish motive, which prompted him to make war upon his neighbours—the raising to himself a vain reputation. The fine arts are little more than an *ornament* in life. Their solid use is trifling. The sciences, which he likewise cultivated, are of greater benefit. Yet even these contribute no mighty matter to happiness. What most effectually diffuses it throughout a nation are the purity of morals, and the enjoyment of the necessaries and conveniences of life. Of these he was no way solicitous. I grant he endeavoured to promote commerce, and thereby to enrich his kingdom. But here his personal aggrandizement was still the motive. The influx of wealth into a kingdom is no cure for poverty. Two kingdoms of equal extent, and equally populous, may contain equal quantities of wealth, while great numbers of the inhabitants of the one live in the utmost want, and every individual of the other is accommodated with necessaries and conveniences. It is not the *quantity* of money in a kingdom, but the *proper*

per dispersion of it, that excludes poverty.— England is perhaps twice as wealthy as it was five-and-forty years ago: yet the number of our distressedly poor, and the degree of their distress, are to the full as great as they were then: and I wish I could affirm, with any appearance of truth, that Your Majesty has ever shewn such a sollicitude for the application of a remedy as would have distinguished you from other sovereigns. That a remedy might be easily found I have not the least doubt: and of this I shall speak in another place.

But to return to the North-Americans, from whom I may seem to have digressed.

A prince, who dismisses a part of his subjects to form a colony, is moved thereto, as I have just now asserted, not by a concern for the happiness of the emigrants, but by the principle of self-interest. Every colony is modelled by its charter as to the prince and his council seems most for the advantage of the mother-country. We will now suppose a North-American, a blunt speaker and fully convinced of this truth, to be justifying his countrymen

countrymen to some among us, who accuse them of ingratitude and rebellion.

“ Your reproach of ingratitude,” says he,
 “ is foolish and groundless. If you say that
 “ we have any obligations to you, you lie.
 “ Whatever indulgences there may appear to
 “ be in the forms of our several charters, and
 “ whatever *favours*, as you call them, we have
 “ since received, are to be ascribed not to any
 “ good-will to *us*, but to selfish ends. You
 “ knew that those indulgences, and those fa-
 “ vours, would at length be for your own ad-
 “ vantage. We are therefore no otherwise
 “ obliged to you than as a flock of sheep is
 “ obliged to the farmer for turning them into
 “ fields of rich clover, or his swine for a plen-
 “ tiful allowance of good pease. But you are
 “ sorely mistaken, if you think your clover
 “ and your pease shall ever bring us to the
 “ slaughter-house. We have good horns and
 “ good tusks, to defend ourselves withal.

“ Your charge of rebellion is as ridicu-
 “ lous as that of ingratitude. Your princes
 “ must have been weak and ignorant men, if,
 “ in

“ in granting charters for settlements in North-
 “ America, they could suppose that England
 “ would for ever maintain, even in any de-
 “ gree, a supremacy over a country of so
 “ wide an extent, and still much weaker and
 “ more ignorant to imagine that, when so
 “ vast a tract of land should become well
 “ peopled, its numerous inhabitants would
 “ suffer themselves to be trampled upon, and
 “ made a property, by the occupiers of this
 “ pitiful island. In acting as we do, we dis-
 “ cover no greater a share of pride than it is
 “ well known is inherent in all men, how-
 “ ever latently so in those of a dastardly dis-
 “ position. Would you yourselves, had you
 “ been formed by the foreign descendants of
 “ your ancestors, as *we* have been formed by
 “ *you*, be content, now you are become a po-
 “ tent nation, to be still governed by their
 “ prince and parliament, supposing such a
 “ prince and parliament to exist? If you say
 “ yes, you lie again. But, even granting your
 “ assertion true, you avoid the imputation
 “ of a rebellious temper only by confessing
 “ yourselves to be nincompoops.

E

“ It

“ It is not that I wish North-America as
 “ yet dismembered from the British domini-
 “ ons. Notwithstanding its vast extent, its in-
 “ habitants are not so numerous, nor may be
 “ for some hundreds of years, as to make it
 “ shameful that it should be considered as de-
 “ pendent upon England. But the time *will*
 “ *come*, when it would be *most* shameful.—
 “ What sort of figure would that country
 “ make throughout the world, which, extend-
 “ ing every way thousands of miles, and contain-
 “ ing hundreds of millions of souls, should
 “ own itself the vassal of a paltry island, se-
 “ parated from it by a wide sea, and scarcely
 “ affording room even for *thirty* millions! Such
 “ an object as this would be a monster in go-
 “ vernment: and I cannot enough admire the
 “ shortsightedness and the vanity of your su-
 “ perficial orators, who talk so frequently of
 “ *this vast empire*; as if America were to be
 “ for ever appendent to a country compara-
 “ tively so insignificant as Britain. Conscious
 “ of our future superiority in power from this
 “ extent of territory, and too well acquainted
 “ with your self-love, we decline a represen-
 “ tation in your parliament; a proposal strong-
 “ ly

“ ly urged (and with much seeming admiration
 “ of his own wisdom and equity) by that weak
 “ mortal, the espousal of whose ridiculous
 “ cause will be for ever a mark of the igno-
 “ rance and wrong-headedness of your nation,
 “ and by others of *his* degree of understand-
 “ ing. This poor creature is representative-
 “ mad. Besides that such a representation
 “ would be a disgrace to us at a future period,
 “ what could it avail us even now? It would
 “ only rivet fetters, which it is high time to
 “ shake off, or, at least, to loosen. Your in-
 “ famous treatment of the Irish, a people
 “ separated from you but by a narrow neck
 “ of sea, and whom you ought to consider as
 “ a part of yourselves, is a sufficient lesson to
 “ to avoid a more intimate connexion with
 “ you. Under colour of our own consent, we
 “ should be more and more oppressed. The
 “ small number of our representatives (and
 “ perhaps even some of *these* bribed by a minis-
 “ ter: for we have scoundrels among us as
 “ well as you) would be of no weight, when-
 “ ever the interests of Britain and America
 “ were in competition.

“ Notwithstanding this your self-partiality, I
 “ should

“ should rejoice to see a re-union; but not
 “ otherwise than upon terms consistent with
 “ the honour of America. Nor indeed can
 “ there be a re-union, but upon such terms as
 “ we approve. Your military efforts are im-
 “ potent and vain. You are but murdering
 “ your men and squandering your money.
 “ Those among you, who are so ignorant or so
 “ prejudiced as to expect that these efforts will
 “ be of any efficacy, and who possibly are
 “ buoyed up by the remembrance of the victo-
 “ ries gained in the late war, little consider the
 “ infinite difference there is between fighting
 “ in a neutral country and in that of an enemy,
 “ where all the inhabitants conspire to distress
 “ the invader. Could you spare a hundred
 “ thousand men for the service in America,
 “ (and you can never spare half the number)
 “ it would be to no purpose. How is this
 “ army to subsist? or who shall prevent
 “ the greatest part of it from deserting in a
 “ country, where, with a loss to the proprie-
 “ tor so trifling as not to be felt, so much land
 “ may be given to every individual as will
 “ maintain him in plenty? in the acceptance
 “ of which, he, at the same time, escapes
 “ from

“ from the danger of perishing by famine or
 “ the sword, and foregoes nothing but the
 “ distant and uncertain hope of a pitiful *seven*
 “ *guineas a year* from a Chelsea-hospital. It
 “ would not be at all surprizing, were the
 “ whole of your common men to pass over
 “ at once to an army of the Americans, and
 “ leave their officers standing at different dis-
 “ tances, like the pillars of a ruin’d Palmyra.
 “ In short, all you can do is to take and keep
 “ possession of a few of our ports, and to
 “ prevent our fishery: and Heaven knows
 “ you would be soon weary of the expence,
 “ that this would be to you. But, even
 “ granting it were no expence, how would it
 “ otherwise avail you than in the gratifying a
 “ thirst of revenge? And would you sacri-
 “ fice to so poor and low a passion the inte-
 “ rest of your country, and renounce the solid
 “ advantages you may reap from an inter-
 “ course with us, whose still-increasing num-
 “ bers would be a mine of wealth to you?

“ Your inability to conquer us, and your
 “ interest in preserving us, being both so gla-
 “ riously apparent, to deliberate whether you
 “ should continue to make war upon us, or whe-
 “ ther

“ ther you should listen to our addressees for an
 “ accommodation, (addressees far from being
 “ conceived in the stile of rebels) would seem
 “ to imply a total blindness. You might, with
 “ as much appearance of reason, deliberate
 “ whether the customs of eating and drink-
 “ ing should be continued, or whether a
 “ trial should be made to live upon air.—
 “ And don’t pretend to tell me of the o-
 “ pinions of parliaments and privy-coun-
 “ cils. What are parliaments and privy-
 “ councils? There being no ground for
 “ supposing birth to give a superiority of un-
 “ derstanding, we may conclude a house of
 “ lords to be as liable to form a wrong judg-
 “ ment as a company of tradesmen. The
 “ commons, it is true, were they chosen for
 “ such qualities as ought to give them a pre-
 “ ference, would approve themselves a wiser
 “ assembly. But what commoner is chosen
 “ for his wisdom? The electors of the com-
 “ moners are for the most part low rascals,
 “ who, in giving their votes, consult only
 “ their own interest. A present bribe, or the
 “ expectation of a few guineas a-year profit
 “ as tradesmen, has much more weight with
 “ them

“ *them* than any confideration of merit. But,
 “ even *were* they fwayed by this confiderati-
 “ on, (as fometimes, it muft be allowed, is the
 “ cafe) we fee plainly enough, by the booby
 “ freeholders of Middlefex, what fine judges
 “ conftituents are of merit.”

“ Were kings always qualified to judge of
 “ the capacity of other men, and never biaffed
 “ by affection, we might expect in privy-coun-
 “ fellors a larger fhare of wifdom than we can
 “ ever hope to find in either a houfe of lords
 “ or a houfe of commons, a lord being fuch
 “ merely from the cafualty of birth, and a com-
 “ moner owing his election to mecenary
 “ wretches, who in chufing him have folely
 “ their private intereft in view. But, unhap-
 “ pily, kings are often undifcerning, and think
 “ they difcover wifdom, where in fact there is
 “ none. Nor is it always from a fupposed dif-
 “ covery of wifdom, that a king admits a man
 “ into his privy council. History is full of ex-
 “ amples of men, who have gained the affecti-
 “ on of their fovereigns by trifling qualificati-
 “ ons, and, without any true merit, have be-
 “ come foextravagantlytheir favourites thatthey
 “ have

“ have ever after governed their masters; and
 “ sometimes to the ruin of the state. Remember
 “ a Gaveston and a Buckingham in your own
 “ country.

“ The opinions of privy-councils, considered
 “ merely as privy-councils, are therefore little
 “ to be regarded. And, as to parliaments, how
 “ many injudicious acts—how many *scores* of
 “ them—have they passed! some of which
 “ have been found so very prejudicial that a
 “ repeal has been absolutely necessary; while
 “ others not only useless, but inconvenient,
 “ have been suffered to remain in force, no
 “ mortal can tell why. What man of sense
 “ can without contempt reflect that, out of
 “ five hundred and fifty members of the house
 “ of commons, a hundred and seventy-three
 “ should be men so void of understanding as
 “ to give their vote, as they did this last win-
 “ ter, for the rescinding the resolutions on the
 “ Middlesex election! Almighty God! what
 “ an outcry has there been in your silly na-
 “ tion about nothing at all! Here is a man
 “ of no personal qualities, in regard of either
 “ ability or disposition, to recommend him,
 “ (a man

“ (a man capable only of making most
 “ empty harangues) who takes it into his
 “ head to turn patriot, and bawls about
 “ liberty. A very stupid periodical publica-
 “ tion appears; of a certain paper in which,
 “ grossly reflecting on the sovereign, the com-
 “ mons conclude him to be the author, and
 “ thereupon expel him from among them.
 “ In consequence of this, he becomes
 “ the idol of an idiot-public. The ignorant
 “ and unmannerly freeholders of a county
 “ elect him in the next parliament; and it
 “ is still determined by the house that he
 “ is not worthy of a seat. Now, for
 “ Heaven’s sake, what is there in this act of
 “ the commons; to countenance so universal
 “ a clamour about the violation of rights, and
 “ the subversion of liberty? But, in short,
 “ there is nothing too foolish for a professed
 “ anti-courtier, or a professed stickler for li-
 “ berty, to say. How it is possible for a
 “ man’s being judged by the house of com-
 “ mons unworthy ever to sit among them,
 “ for his having published a shamefully in-
 “ decent production, *to affect the very vitals*
 “ *of the constitution, the great primary sources*
 F “ of

“ *of the power of the people**, we may defy
 “ the very devil himself to discover. A much
 “ more natural conclusion is that it may be a
 “ caution to members of parliament, and to
 “ those who aspire at being members, not to
 “ be guilty of any thing similar. But two
 “ great lawyers, forsooth, [Wedderburne and
 “ Dunning] were in the minority, and judged
 “ that the vote ought to be rescinded. Well,
 “ and what if they did? Why then two
 “ great lawyers judged like asses. What
 “ is a lawyer’s judgment, in a question
 “ of that sort, more than that of another
 “ man? No men form more senseless judg-
 “ ments than lawyers frequently do even
 “ in points of law, their peculiar province;
 “ nay, sometimes even in the most plain
 “ and easy points, where one would ima-
 “ gine that a child, or a dreaming old
 “ woman, could scarcely err: witness, among
 “ other

* These words are taken from the exordium of a
 very stupid speech, made by the Lord Mayor himself
 on the occasion, which speech was inserted in the public
 papers in the beginning of March last: in all pro-
 bability, by his Lordship’s procurement, as judging
 it to be a very fine one.

“ other instances, the bookseller’s cause, de-
 “ termined last year. An act of the 8th of
 “ Queen Ann gives an author, or his assigns,
 “ an exclusive property in his works for a
 “ limited time. Is not this plainly declaring
 “ that, without an act of parliament, authors
 “ have no such exclusive property? Un-
 “ doubtedly it is. And yet seven or eight of
 “ your wise judges, out of twelve, deter-
 “ mined otherwise, and gave it as their opi-
 “ nion that they really have it: which is
 “ making the act to say—*Whereas authors*
 “ *have naturally, and without any obligation to*
 “ *us, a perpetual exclusive property in their*
 “ *works, and those works are a Noli me tangere*
 “ *to all others, we now, out of our gracious in-*
 “ *clination to encourage ingenuity, and from a*
 “ *tender concern for the necessitous, as well*
 “ *knowing that authors are commonly poor lousy*
 “ *mortals, do grant to them and their assigns an*
 “ *exclusive property in such works, for the full*
 “ *term of fourteen years; and, without doubt,*
 “ *these authors and their assigns, as in duty*
 “ *bound, will thank us for nothing.* Your Wed-
 “ derburne, too, and your Dunning, who
 “ joined in that absurd vote in regard to the

“ Middlesex affair, were concerned in the
 “ promoting this righteous cause of the book-
 “ fellers. You will tell me, perhaps, that
 “ they were concerned only as council. But,
 “ if they thought the cause a just one, what
 “ sort of judgment must they have? If they
 “ thought otherwise, what sort of conscience?
 “ Perpetual property in literary productions
 “ would evidently be an injury to society.
 “ Were such property established, any ca-
 “ pricious coxcomb, who should become the
 “ proprietor of a valuable work, might de-
 “ prive the world of it through mere per-
 “ verseness: and I have been often scandalized
 “ at the remissness of your universities in this
 “ particular. The missing a venison-feast,
 “ or the loss of a few bottles of super-
 “ excellent French wine, would give your
 “ heads-of-colleges, and the rest of the mem-
 “ bers of your two universities, more pain than
 “ the annihilation of an ingenious author.

“ Now, in regard to an accommodation
 “ with America, I assert again that, if it take
 “ place, it must be upon such terms as the
 “ Americans themselves approve: and you
 “ have

“ have no ground to apprehend that their
 “ propofals will be other than perfectly mo-
 “ derate and reasonable. With a keener
 “ fword in one hand than you are mafters of,
 “ they tender you with the other the olive-
 “ branch. No weak proof of their friendly
 “ difpofition! This generous behaviour, even
 “ had they taken up arms upon too flight a
 “ provocation, ought to excite in you fen-
 “ timents of efteem and affection. But I
 “ can never allow the provocation to be too
 “ flight. However fmall, and feemingly of
 “ no account, the duty impofed upon tea, it
 “ was vifibly defigned as an introduction to
 “ the taxing America as you pleafed. And
 “ what mercy could we expect from a peo-
 “ ple, who (as I have faid before) treat
 “ their next-door neighbours [the Irish] in
 “ the shameful manner, in which you treat
 “ them?

“ Your extending the limits of Canada had
 “ all the appearance of a poor and mean de-
 “ fire of having at our elbow a people in
 “ your intereft fufficiently potent to annoy
 “ us, whenever you fhould be in a humour
 “ to fet them on,

“ Your

“ Your shutting up the port of Boston was
 “ a pitiful and unjust way of revenging
 “ yourselves; necessarily involving those,
 “ whom you yourselves acknowledged to be
 “ innocent, with those whom you called
 “ guilty. If you plead, in excuse, that
 “ there is no other way of punishing, where
 “ the guilty cannot be discriminated from
 “ such of their townsmen as are innocent,
 “ and where those guilty cannot be brought
 “ alone to justice, urging likewise examples
 “ of towns in your own country punished
 “ upon the same principle, we reply that
 “ those towns had it not in their power to
 “ resist; which, doubtless, they otherwise
 “ would have done. We therefore, who *have*
 “ it in our power, act but in the same manner
 “ as those towns *would* have acted, had they
 “ been *capable* of resisting.

“ But surely nothing can exceed the in-
 “ dignity offered us, in dragging Americans
 “ to England, to undergo a trial here, for
 “ imputed crimes committed in their own
 “ country. Tell me not of the improbability
 “ of finding in America an equal and im-
 “ partial

“ partial jury for judging the crimes there
 “ specified. I admit the plausibility of this
 “ plea. But the treatment carries so arbitrary
 “ a face, it so deeply wounds the human
 “ pride, that the act ought upon no pretext
 “ whatsoever to have been passed. Human
 “ statutes, that run counter to the statutes of
 “ nature, are absurd. The practice of
 “ good-manners is as necessary between
 “ nation and nation as between man and
 “ man. No beings are patient of contempt;
 “ and the greater the power of him, or
 “ them, to whom contempt is offered, the
 “ greater the indignation and resentment.
 “ No wonder then that we, who are, if
 “ not offensively, at least defensively, as
 “ powerful as yourselves, or nearly so,
 “ should so ill brook and so highly resent an
 “ act of your parliament, that places us in
 “ so abject a light. Its violation of decency
 “ is too great to be borne by such as are able
 “ to resist.

“ The act respecting the religion of
 “ Canada is in itself perfectly right and just,
 “ notwithstanding the clamours it has raised
 “ among

“ among the foolish and narrow-soul’d both
 “ of Britain and America. The Protestants
 “ of Canada are at full liberty to profess
 “ their own religion: and that is enough.
 “ The Roman - Catholics being so much
 “ more numerous, the permitting them to
 “ establish their own hierarchy is no greater
 “ a compliment than the principle of good-
 “ manners required from you. When I
 “ say that the act is *in itself* just, I mean
 “ that I apprehend a possibility of the mi-
 “ nistry’s having procured it from a bad
 “ motive; the same, to which I have ascribed
 “ the extending the limits of that province.
 “ This act respecting religion the ministry
 “ might suppose conducive to the inviting
 “ such numbers of the French to settle there
 “ as would make the province in some de-
 “ gree a match for its Protestant neigh-
 “ bours.

“ The permitting the French to judge
 “ causes their own way was likewise a right
 “ measure. Whatever your foolish patriots
 “ might pretend, liberty suffered nothing
 “ by this permission. On the contrary, it
 “ was

“ was established. He, who loves what
 “ another calls *chains*, loses his liberty by
 “ being deprived of those chains.

“ To the same narrowness of soul, that
 “ has given birth to the clamours upon the
 “ Canada-acts, are to be ascribed the almost-
 “ general exclamations at the concluding the
 “ late peace. It was a a good peace, say
 “ what you will. You will tell me that
 “ you could have exacted larger concessions
 “ from a reduced adversary. 'Tis true: you
 “ could: and for that very reason I affirm
 “ that the peace was a good one. To exact
 “ exorbitantly, where there is no power of
 “ refusing, shews a poor and villainous dis-
 “ position. You had as much as, with
 “ proper management, would secure your
 “ future safety and affluence. And what
 “ would you require more? Would you
 “ make your happiness to consist in the
 “ distress of others?

“ In settling the terms of a re-union
 “ between Britain and North-America, what-
 “ ever those terms may be, it will be right

“ to bear in mind, and your posterity ought
 “ always to remember, that the time will
 “ come when they will be no longer proper.
 “ Nay, a still remoter time will come, when
 “ there will be no fixed terms of connexion at
 “ all; though the intercourse (a friendly,
 “ and to Britain a *profitable* intercourse, if
 “ it be not prevented by the too great avidity
 “ of your posterity) may still continue: for,
 “ when our country is become so populous
 “ and so potent that it were shameful it
 “ should be still dependent upon Britain, it
 “ will probably still retain an affection for
 “ its parent, and give her a preference in
 “ regard either of trade or of alliance,
 “ provided she do not presume too much
 “ upon this title of *parent*. And how ac-
 “ tive and useful an ally she will be capable
 “ of approving herself, you may form some
 “ guess from the transactions of the late war
 “ and from what is now passing. If her mili-
 “ tary powers are so considerable even in this
 “ age, what will they be in time to come! ”

What

WHAT says Your Majesty to this your North-American subject? If we may believe him, he does not wish to withdraw his allegiance, while he can continue it consistently with his own honour and with that of his country: and his harangue certainly carries an air of sincerity. The expression of *the honour of the subject* ought not to surprize. If it be an infrequent one, its being so is owing to the infrequency of a power in subjects to resist their sovereigns. Were this power common, the *expression* likewise would be common.

What this North-American says in vindication of his countrymens conduct will, as I apprehend, not be easily answered. They saw plainly the hand of oppression ready to fall upon them. They endeavoured to ward it off. And what people would not have done the same, who had been conscious of their own power? This resistance their self-styled masters resent, and meditate shameful punishments. They are now still more irritated, and refuse any farther intercourse with these masters, unless upon terms consistent with their

own happiness. Herein there is nothing but what is natural; and he, who blames them, blames providence for forming the human species such as it is. This is not a case to be determined by lawyers, who talk of *regularity* and *irregularity* of proceeding. There are cases where irregularity is natural and regular: and I think I may venture to affirm this to be one of them. To tell a people, who complain of a galling yoke, that they are not authorised to judge whether it is a galling yoke or not, is a jest. These Americans let us plainly see that they *will be* judges of their own feelings, and the *ratio ultima regum* will never convince them of their having been mistaken. They are more than a match for us at this kind of argument: and if Your Majesty and the ministry at length perceive them to be so, how much more noble and generous would it be to retract at once, than to sacrifice the quiet and the wealth of the nation, and the lives of thousands of the subjects, to an unwillingness to confess an error! It is not yet too late to retract; which, according to all appearance, it will be in a short time: and what a *stigma* would the loss of America be upon

Your Majesty's reign, as long as the English history will be read !

It mortifies me to talk to a person in Your Majesty's station with a freedom, which may seem to border upon indecency : but the importance of the subject will plead my excuse.

In some future letters to Your Majesty I shall apostrophe our scoundrel patriots, and let these wretches see (especially the rich ones among them) how much more usefully they might be employed than in clamouring about *violated rights* and *septennial parliaments*. For a rich man to pass his time in censuring the ministry, while he himself contributes nothing to the public good, is the very height of impudence.

I am,

Notwithstanding the liberties I have here taken,

Your Majesty's very loyal and

Affectionate subject,

October,
1775.

Sincerus.

FINIS.

My dear Mr. Phillips

to collate our two
side by side.

On p. 12 the John

l. 11 from top: "

l. 2 from bottom:

This ms. correction
the ms. not quoted

There are a few other
important of which
bottom: "Pious"
written in.

I hope you will
conclude that you
Bible

EFIT STREET,
PROVIDENCE, R.I.

24 June 1861

It would be interesting
to see copies of Plain English

John Carter Brown copy has,

"shortly to be connected -"

* ~~ir~~radicable

* unradicable - { in ref. at foot
of page.

tion is in the same hand as

noted in the J.C.B. catalogue

Other ref. touches, the most

which is on p. 43: 1.8 from

erased & "disrupted"

will let me know what

you reach - & when we

see I & our Sons & Parker & Wadsworth.